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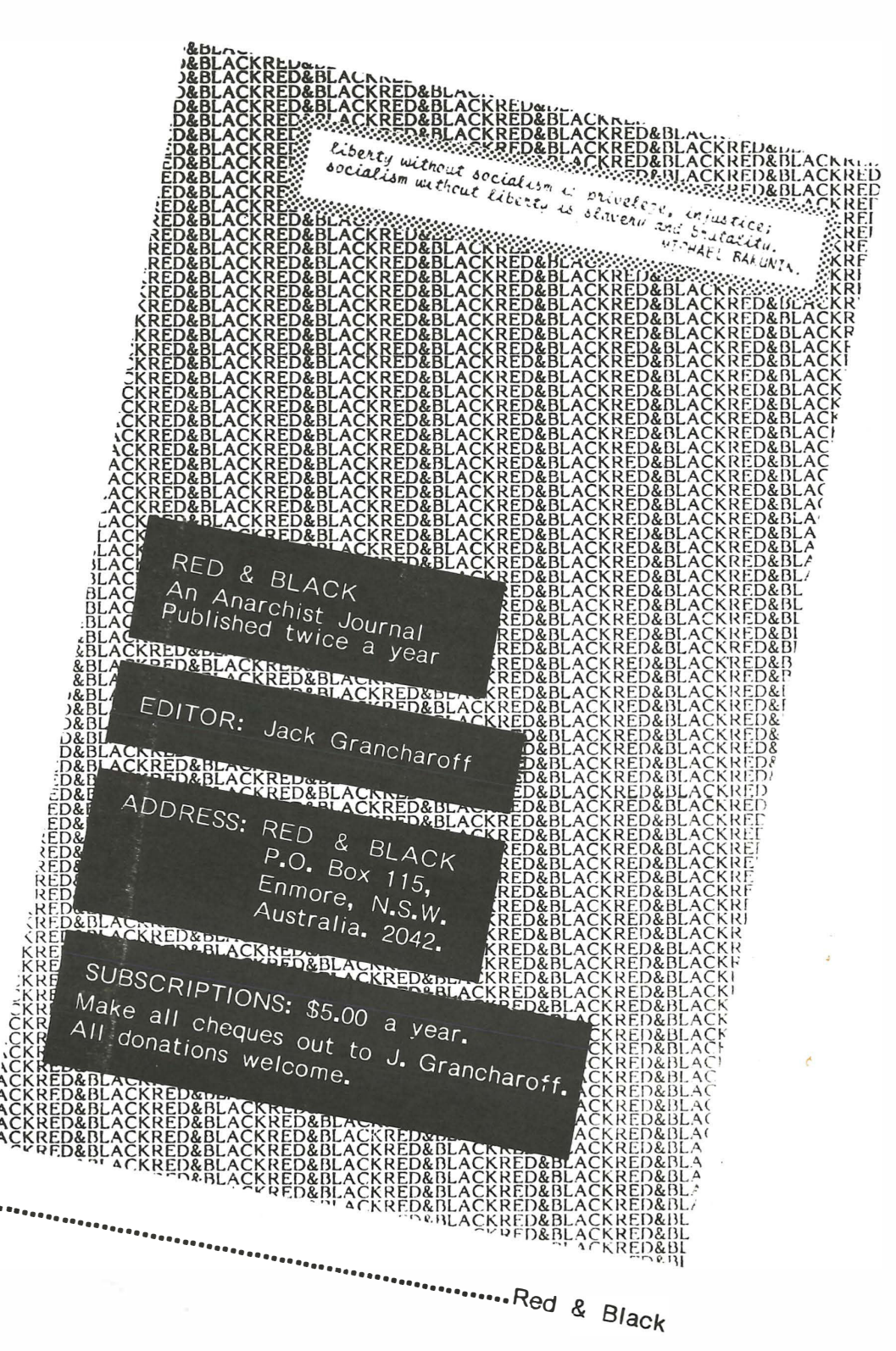
liberty without socialism is privilege, injustice;
socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality.
MICHAEL BAKUNIN.
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DEAR FRIENDS.....(INSTEAD OF AN EDITORIAL)

ANARCHY AND FREEDOM

Anarchy is the ideal of a society free from classes, masters, slaves, hierarchy and oppression. An ideal that shook the established conventions during the French Revolution, electrified the noble European spirits and, finally, was crucified by French imperialism. But, like the mythical phoenix, it was waiting the opportune moment to resurrect itself from the ashes of destruction.

It appeared on the barricades erected by the French proletariat during 1848; it inspired the hearts of the Communards in 1871, to be suffocated by the bullets of Thiers. Russian workers and peasants evoked its image in the struggle against tsarism and against Bolshevism, but, the triumphant Lenin and Trotsky banished it to Siberia. It brightened the Spanish sky for three years and then succumbed to the combined fascist and Stalinist forces. The hammer and sickle in vain tried to crush it. It appeared in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 because Anarchy is not utopia but Freedom.

Freedom to beautify life and to qualitatively improve it; to extend the reality of one's existence as well as to enrich it. Freedom is the liberation of life in all its aspects and the attempt to sensibilize the indivudual and society.

Freedom is not a bourgeois prejudice to be sacrificed to the altar of the proletarian heaven. On the contrary, it is part and parcel of proletarian, human and global emancipation. Proletarians without freedom are soulless machines in the service of the bourgeoisie, red or blue; they are people without their own physiognomy, without individuality and without the ability to think. These kinds of proletarians are the models on which bourgeois-statist socialism is built.

Perhaps "bourgeois socialism" is a misnomer for managers, bureaucrats and party cadres. Perhaps, it is a question of semantics? Obviously "bourgeoisie" in the classical sense of the word is inapplicable to socialist reality. The socialist bourgeoisie has no property nor the means of production, but, it has the power and the means of power: the state and its coercive apparatus, the dogma and the privileges.

Those who see socialism in the Bolshevik's "patriocracy" are victims of a deceptive demon, their own ideology, because neither the political nor the economic revolutions have yet been accomplished. Perhaps Gorbachov will dispel the illusions to which they cling. Nonetheless, to achieve their utopian goals they, too, consider freedom to be bourgeois, they muzzle the proletariat and try to create mono-thinking to prevent deviationism for the good of the workers themselves. Holding freedom in contempt is related to the fear that the proletariat may reject their medicinal treatment, deviate and establish socialism without them. These learned persons have always postponed the realization of a free and classless society to that time when they, not the proletariat, will be masters of the situation by having the state on their side and thus establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship over the proletariat and not over the bourgeoisie, because they are themselves the "new bourgeoisie". A self-appointed, arrogant, intellectual avant-garde that claims to posses true "proletarian" consciousness which the proletriat cannot have unless it is supplied by its mentors - the party's intelligentsia. This process of consciousness raising can be neatly identified as the perfection of workerr's exploitation. However, at this point a miracle is supposed to take place and society, by a dialectical abracadabra, leaps from necessity into freedom, or more precisely, into the scientific laboratory of socialism.

On the other side is political liberalism which culminates in the state being everything and the individual nothing. All power and right goes to the state and the individual only becomes something as a citizen and only has those rights which the state gives to her/him. Political liberalism, says Stirner, "creates a free people, but not a free individual." For liberal and liberal-social-democracy freedom means the right to exploit, to regiment, to oppress and to run government as a private enterprise. Their panegyrics of freedom are panegyrics of their business propositions. And where the fox fails the police and the army will do the rest. Liberalism is the manager of capitalism. It extends the wealth of the rich and tightens the belt of the poor and then extols sacrifice as a patriotic duty.

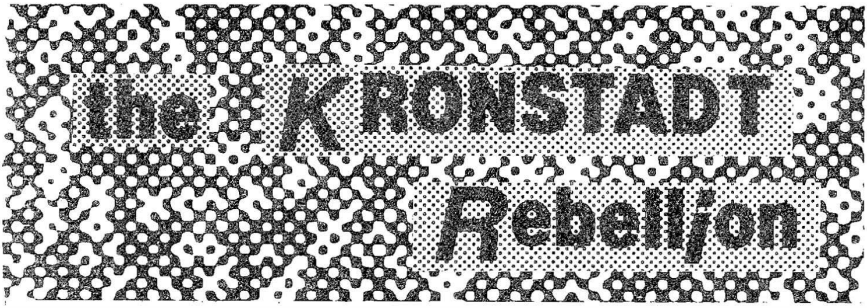
We anarchists are a minority of people who are on the side of real freedom, freedom without illusion. For us authoritarian institutions cannot guarantee freedom, despite their claim to the contrary. For freedom is neither an empty word nor a bourgeois prejudice, but, rather a necessary condition for any emancipation: social, political and personal. We realize that those who follow, who obey, who respect an object do feel, in relation to it, awe and fear. Therefore, it is useless to talk and act liberation while preserving the objects of authoritarian institutions. Institutionalized freedom is slavery. Freedom ends where government begins.

For us freedom is not only a condition of the future society, but also, a here and now attitude. An attitude which ought to be the cardinal feature of any human relationship if we are to create a real anti-authoritarian revolutionary consciousness. A consciousness which does not depend on party games, any games, is not delegated to professionals, which is not shut in academic conclaves as a scientific luxury to be given

by installments to the masses. A consciousness which does not tolerate economic, social, political and personal hierarchies; which does not legitimize dialectical categories: masters-slaves, capitalists-proletarians, intelligentsia-workers, the abolition of which provides the empirical basis of freedom. A consciousness which does not classify human beings into inferior and superior, children and adults, young and old, but which considers them as persons, different but equal. This is what we call a free consciousness, a consciousness which works towards a free, equalitarian and libertarian society.

So, having Freedom and Free Consciousness as our ideals as a mode of living, as here and now possibilities, we are moving towards the realisation of Anarchy. Obviously, we have a difficult task in front of us, living as we do, in a free world that is not free and a socialist one that is not socialist. Nonetheless, we have to fight for Anarchy if we value freedom as a way of life and to fight for freedom if we have anarchy as our goal. Anarchy is freedom and freedom is anarchy.

Jack.



At the same time he planned the attack which Lenin believed would vanquish Kronstadt. On March 5, the American-Russian anarchists Alex Goldman and Emma Goldman, led a group of Russian anarchists in another offer to mediate between the rebels and the government. Both Berkman and Serge who aided the mediators, state Zinoviev received their document but nothing further was done. Trotsky's claims that everything possible was done to find a peaceful solution, are fallacious.

The first attack, organized and designed by Trotsky, was a disaster in which all the worst possible incidents that can befall a military commander's army occurred. Although the well-armed defenders numbered about 14,000 and were entrenched behind concrete, rock and barbed wire, Trotsky ordered a charge by 20,000 men. The ice before the fortifications was dangerous for several reasons: it provided no cover and so gave a clear field of fire; despite wearing white camouflage sheets, advancing soldiers made easy targets; exploding shells sent up great slivers of ice which were as deadly as shrapnel; and after a time the ice began to disintegrate under the bombardment, making a suffessful advance impossible. The advance continued as the final lines consisted of chekists with machine guns and pistols at the ready for waverers, just as the armies of ancient Persia were driven into battle by officers with whips while at war with Athens. Trotsky, like the emperors Darius and Xerxes, watched as his totalitarian armies were driven forward to crush a small beleaguered enemy who fought desperately for democracy.

As the lines advanced to where the rebel artillery was breaking the ice, scores, even hundreds of Red Army men were drowned when slabs of ice overturned, or the lines behind kept forcing them forward into the water. Those who got further faced certain death as Kronstadt's 168 machine guns and thousands of riflemen started firing. Despite the chekists, whole columns refused to step forward to certain death. One whole column of several thousand refused to move forward and showed their commander rebel leaflets, then requested permission to discuss issues with the Kronstadters! One group of Red Army cadets and also a few others actually reached the fortress - only to greet the Kronstadters as brothers and eagerly take their places on the fortress walls. These

defectors probably numbered just under 1,000. Kronstadt civilians soon joined them.
The battle ended with a resumption of a spiteful but ineffectual artillery and aerial bombardment of Kronstadt's civilian and military sections. Kronstadt's losses were minimal, the only one of note being a member of the Provisional Committee who was kidnapped and probably killed when conferring with the Bolsheviks under a flag of truce after the battle.[28]

Red Army casualties were listed as 500 dead and 2,000 wounded by one Bolshevik source, although this excluded the 1,000 defectors, the large number of missing and deserted, and those shot in retribution by the cheka, which Wheatley states as being one man in five.[29] Deutscher claims the Kronstadters killed their attackers with a sense of approaching triumph, yet the Kronstadters issued several statements such as this:

> "We do not want to spill the blood of our brothers and we are holding our fire to the minimum they allow. We must defend the just cause of the workers and for this reason we feel ourselves forced to fire on our brothers, sent to certain death by the Communists who have created a life of privilege at the expense of the people.
>
> Unfortunately for you, our brothers, a terrible blizzard was blowing when the attack was made, and everything was wrapped in the shadows of a dark night. In spite of this, the Communist hangmen ordered you on to the ice and threatened you from behind with the machine guns of the rearguard, manned by their Communist formations.
>
> Many of you perished that night on the vast frozen expanse of the Gulf of Finland, and when the dawn came, after the storm had died down, only the miserable remnants of your detachments, exhausted, hungry, almost unable to walk, crept towards us in their white shrouds.
>
> You were a thousand in the dawn, but in the course of the day one could no longer count you. With your blood you have paid for this adventure. After your rout, Trotsky has gone to Petrograd to seek new victims for the slaughter: the blood of our peasants and workers is cheap to him."[30]

This was the first of the many battles between socialist and socialist in this century. It was even a fratricidal struggle among the Kronstadters. Not only Trotsky but many of his commanders had ties with Red Kronstadt.

Trotsky, who had seen his troops either change sides, be massacred without inflicting damage on the enemy, or disobey orders and retreat, also fled the battle, leaving on his special train just as he had done at Kostas and in the Ukrainian campaign in mid-

1919. This time he rushed to the Tenth Communist Party Congress with an urgent report on the situation .

Kronstadt now numbered 16,300 defenders and morale was high, but Tukachevsky and Zinoviev, now in charge of suppressing the fortress, began to wear the rebel strength down. Incessant sniping attacks and bombardments combined with dwindling rations and freezing cold to sap the rebels' energy. While outright casualties were comparatively light, few of the rebels were unaffected by hunger and lack of sleep. Their early euphoria was giving way to fatalistic determination. There were other reasons for their drop in morale. It was becoming apparent to them they were acting in isolation. The occasional act of solidarity such as that of Petrograd's arsenal factory or of the railway workers who went on strike rather than transport soldiers to Tukachevsky, were quickly suppressed and unknown to the rebels. Petrograd was now garrisoned by thousands of troops who enforced a curfew and had orders to shoot on sight any group of people seen congregating in the streets.

The Red Army was being carefully combed for disloyal elements, then endlessly indoctrinated with the white guard agent theme to the extent that some soldiers were amazed to find no white guards in the fortress after their victory.[31] The attacking force was drastically increased - about 50,000 or 60,000 or more troops were in the final battle. Just as in Hungary in 1956 and Afghanistan in 1980, an initial soviet attack ended in mutiny, and so in the second, the soviets used primitive troops from the eastern provinces for the second attack, bolstering them with secret police detachments. At Kronstadt these detachments from Russia's Chinese and Bashkir population, being illiterate and speaking only tribal languages, were immune to anti-Bolshevik propaganda. Detachments of fanatical party members who volunteered and officer school cadets also reinforced the attacking force and when privileged rations of food and warm clothing were issued, morale improved.

Tukachevsky's final attack began with a massive artillery bombardment on March 16. As in the first attack, Red Army columns charged Kronstadt's battered outlying forts and suffered enormous casualties, but this time there were no mutinies or retreats. The fratricidal struggle was at a desperate stage when Kronstadt's communist prisoners succeeded in an armed prison break, then indicated to the attackers the weakest point in the city's defence system. The Red Army poured into the city. Civilians either fled, cowered in their homes, kept on fighting or tried to fraternize. The armed Kronstadters now fought in little groups from one house to another, as those on the walls and in the outlying forts were overwhelmed. As it became clear that the battle was being lost, panic spread, thousands tried either to flee or surrender. Many military units sacrificed themselves by staying to fight rather than see their families fall into Trotsky's hands.

Nearly eight thousand people, almost all of them military personnel, escaped to Finland, among them were eleven out of fifteen of the

Revolutionary Committee, and most of the military specialists.

Many others fought until overwhelmed by the attackers' larger numbers. The last defended point, a lighthouse, was seized late in the afternoon of March 18: the forty-eight hour battle was over but the retributions were just beginning. Nearly every contemporary account mentions the massive shootings of prisoners during and after the battle. Victor Serge recalls how the Kronstadters faced the firing squads yelling 'Long live the World Revolution!' and 'Long live the Communist International!'

No reliable casualty figures are available but soviet documents stating that 600 Kronstadters were killed and 2,500 captured have often been quoted.[32] Berkman's and Maximoff's estimate was 18,000.

Given the eyewitness descriptions of the ferocity of the 48-hour long last battle, the aerial and artillery bombardments, the daily shootings of batches of prisoners for months afterwards, and Dybenko's quiet, lengthy purging of civilian and military personnel after the recapture of Kronstadt, the higher figure is probably accurate.

Other sources stated that 1,400 Oranienbaum troops were shot, and in Petrograd in the first week of the rebellion 2,500 were shot.[33]

Of the 8,000 who escaped, 3,000 returned that June, foolishly believing a promise of amnesty which was not honored. Some of these may have been among the 200 Petrograd prisoners released in late 1921.[34] A trickle of survivors returned to Russia over the years. In 1922 a member of the Provisional Committee was tortured on his return so he would write an appeal urging others to follow his example; one of the last to do so would be Petrichenko in 1946. Like all the others he died in prison.

On the same day that Kronstadt fell, Trotsky had returned to Petrograd, and with Lenin, spoke at the fiftieth anniversary of the suppression of the Paris Commune and frenziedly denounced the French generals and politicians for their bloody massacres of working class revolutionaries.

The cannonade had stopped just a few hours earlier: the sound of the firing squads did not carry far enough to disrupt Trotsky's and Zinoviev's speeches. The second battle of Kronstadt began as the first was ending - the battle between the historians and the ideologues on differing points. Did a great massacre take place? Were the 1921 rebels the same force who made the 1917 revolution? Was the rebellion a white guard conspiracy? Did Kronstadt lead to the New Economic Policy and the suppression of democracy in Russia? Did the Bolsheviks have any other choice? Did they act harshly or with restraint?

The last questions tie in with the first, and are the easiest to

answer. In 1937 Trotsky referred contemptuously to "the legend that would have it that Kronstadt 1921 was a great massacre" and queried "were there any needless victims? I do not know."

Here are the eyewitness descriptions, all of them from one-time supporters of Trotsky who gave up on him at different times in his career.

> "The city which for fifteen days had not harmed a single communist, now ran red with the blood of Kronstadt men, women and even children."
>
> "Others put up a furious resistance, fort to fort and street to street; they stood and were shot crying 'Long live the Communist International!' Hundreds of prisoners were taken away to Petrograd and handed to the Cheka; months later they were still being shot in small batches, a senseless and criminal agaony. Those defeated sailors belonged body and soul to the Revolution."
>
> "Thus Kronstadt was liquidated and the 'counter revolutionary plot' quenched in blood. The conquest of the city was characterized by ruthless savagery."

Anton Ciliga who heard accounts from survivors soon after wrote:

> "In 1921 it was the masses who formed the basis of the revolution who were massacred."

Voline, who was in Russia at the time and had access to surviving eyewitnesses, newspapers and letters, wrote:

> "They continued to fight "like lions", defending each district, each street, each house. It was only with heavy sacrifice that the Red soldiers were able to secure a firm foothold in several sections."
>
> "The sailors knew that no quarter would be given them, and they preferred to die fighting rather than be basely assassinated in the cellars of the Cheka. It was a brutal slaughter, a butchery. Many Communists of the city, whose lives had been spared by the sailors, betrayed them, armed themselves, and attacked them from the rear."
>
> "The city which, during the fifteen days of the fight, had done no harm to the Communists within it, now became a vast theatre of shootings, savage executions, regular assassinations in batches. Escaping from the butchery, certain detachments retreated towards Finland."
>
> "Appointed Commissar of Kronstadt, Dybenko was given full power to "clean up the rebel city". This meant an orgy of massacre. The victims of the Cheka were innumer-

able, and they were executed en masse during the days that followed the fall of the fortress."[35]

Theodore Dan and Anton Ciliga both met rebel Kronstadters while in prison, and had seen and heard of the massive executions and de facto death sentences among them. Maximoff, Barmine, Wheatley, Rocker and Mett also described the Kronstadt battle as a massacre.

If these histories seem biased against Trotsky, here is the official account by his chief of staff drawn up at his request:

> "In five years of war I never saw anything like it. It was not a battle - it was sheer hell let loose on earth. For a whole night the artillery fire made such a din that one could not hear oneself speak and the concussions were so terrific that not a pane of glass remained in any of the windows in Oranienbaum. They were madmen, those sailors. Every house had to be taken separately. A wretched hut would keep a company at bay for half an hour. And when you did get in you'd hardly credit it; nothing but two or three sailors swimming in gore at the side of their machine-guns, dying and yet summoning their last ounce of strength to grab at their revolvers and, with their last gasp, muttering: 'If I could only kill another of 'em'."[36]

Trotsky contemptuously dismissed his critics for writing "sentimental lamentations of the pacifist kind".[37]

Even Deutscher accepts that the Kronstadters were massacred but tries to excuse it by saying that this was caused by the Kronstadters' ferocious massacre of the Red Army men in the March 7 attack. Deutscher does not mention the previously produced lament for the Red Army men in 'Izvestia', their written and verbal appeals to the attackers to join them, the sympathy many demonstrated for their cause, or Trotsky's purges in their ranks. He does correctly describe the battle as one where "cruelty was unequalled throughout the civil war", but does not mention Trotsky denied this.

Deutscher's discussion on Kronstadt contains many gaps and errors but is more sophisticated in its approach than that of Trotsky or his Stalinist enemies. Wyndham and King's account seems based on that of Serge and Deutscher. Both accounts state that Kronstadt was a turning point in soviet history. Segal's version is intelligent but brief. He says little about Trotsky's role.[38]

In the 1930s, discussion on Kronstadt's social makeup and the question of revolutionary continuity led to some extraordinary and revealing statements from Trotsky.

Trotsky insisted that the 1921 rebels were not the people who made the 1917 revolution or the earlier events. He claimed that "the best elements" had been scattered over Russia's fronts where

most of them were casualties, and what was left in "peaceful Kronstadt" was "the gray mass with big pretensions" who were "without political education and unprepared for sacrifice". "Full of self importance", they were also full of "deeply reactionary" ideas, "which reflected the hostility of the backward peasantry to the worker". In a later article this "gray mass" was joined by even more villainous types: "anarchist and Menshevik elements, the counter-revolutionaries in disguise (there were quite a few of them)", "reactionaries, sons of kulaks, primitive uneducated Ukrainian peasants, shopkeepers and priests", "riff raff speculators, white guard agents and Czarist generals and draft dodgers", and a "great percentage of completely demoralized elements wearing showy bellbottom pants and sporty haircuts".[39] Trotsky, who was born the son of an uneducated Ukrainian kulak, had been a draft dodger as late as 1917, and appears as quite a dandy in many photographs. Even supporters such as Deutscher, Lenin, Serge and Max Eastman, admitted to Trotsky's massive sense of self importance. If the phrase "the gray mass with big pretensions" had been used by an aristocrat about any section of the Russian people, it would have led to massive denunciations, but with Trotsky it is accepted as truth. His allegation about special privileges is revealing. Trotsky and Zinoviev had thousands killed for supposedly wanting what they had. This leads to an interesting question - was the Bolshevik ferocity at Kronstadt not only a ruthless suppression of those who threatened their power and privilege, but a form of guilt displacement? It seems so.

Trotsky's arguments about casualties, differing social strata, class loyalties and other factors, convinced many writers and historians that the 1921 rebels were not the same social force as in 1917. Among writers who accept this are Deutscher, Rosmer, Segal, Serge, Dwight MacDonald, and all Trotskyist and Stalinist party writers. Wyndham and King and Paul Avrich are not so sure, Avrich suggests there were big changes in the social makeup, but a large remnant of old veterans stayed on and played a dominant role. Voline described how only a handful returned from the front.[40]

On the other side, Emma Goldman, Anton Ciliga, Bernard Wolfe, Ida Mett, Emanuel Pollack, Theodore Dan, Lynne Thorndycraft, and Israel Getzler argue either that large numbers of veterans dominated the rebellion, or that the composition of the base remained essentially unchanged. After disregarding Trotsky's wilder allegations and assessing the evidence, I believe there is continuity between the rebels of 1917 and those of 1921: Trotsky did murder many of the little-known and anonymous Kronstadters who made the revolution which put him in power.

My reasons are as follows:

Only one statement made by Trotsky at the time of the rebellion mentions that these rebels were new recruits. All other accounts - Bolshevik, Social Revolutionaries, anarchist, Menshevik and white

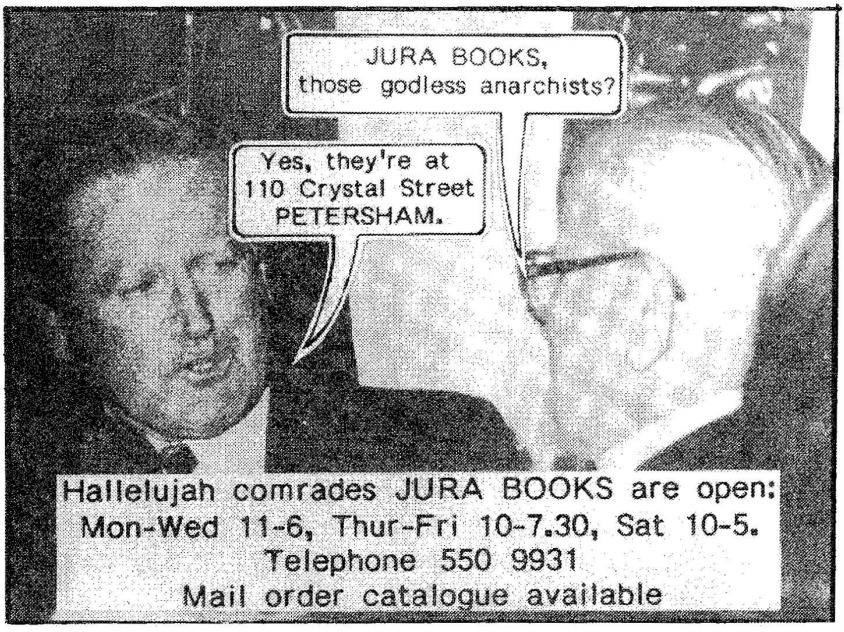
guard - assume they are the 1917 rebels. The issue is not even discussed as such until sixteen years later.

In November 1920 Ethel Snowden witnessed the ceremonial recreation of the 1917 revolution and commented on how many actual Kronstadt veterans took part. This book was printed before the rebellion.[41] Emma Goldman was also present then and brought up this same point against Trotsky's arguments in 1937. Ciliga and Dan were jailed separately in the 1920s and both met interned Kronstadters, many of them outstanding 1917 veterans. In a very detailed examination of this question, Israel Getzler points out that the crews of the 'Petropavlovsk' and the 'Sevastapol' as well as most of the intellectuals, the governing Revolutionary Committee, and those with responsible positions were 1917 veterans. Of the 2,028 sailors for whom enlistment details are known, 1,195 were enlisted between 1914 and 1916, 709 joined during the year of the revolution or before 1914, and 137 were civil war era recruits, with only three post-civil war recruits. The new peasant levies Trotsky made so much of did exist, but numbered no more than 1,313 by December 1920 and were probably stationed in Petrograd. A soviet official who interviewed 400 of them found them to be amazingly ignorant of basic Russian politics. The same man stated that the type of Kronstadter who won the civil war still predominated.[42]

Finally there is the circumstantial evidence. 'Izvestia O Kronstadt' printed hundreds of resignation statements and personal testimonies of Communist Party members and other veterans. Most of these describe their years of service and how they saw their personal hopes and efforts of 1917 betrayed. There is also the problem of the fleet, which remained fully operational between 1917 and 1921. Peasants of the type Trotsky describes were not only illiterate but outstandingly ignorant of machinery. A generation later Russian peasants in eastern Europe were cutting electrical switches off walls to operate lights in other buildings and were unsure of the purpose of clocks and watches. The concept of a naval base not only remaining operational but fighting and winning major battles with a social makeup such as this is ludicrous.* About 13,000 skilled workers were known to be in residence in late 1920.

Responsible historians such as MacDonald and Serge accepted Trotsky's logic due to the large numbers who fought and died in the civil war. About 40,000 served on the fronts: casualties and permanent departures were high. Of this number a large proportion must have consisted of those thousands of loyal Baltic forces in Finland which made their way to Kronstadt when the old imperial navy disintegrated between early 1917 and mid-1918. Kronstadt also

* Apart from Krasnya Gorka, Kronstadt was involved in the Battle for Moon Sound in mid-1918, then in several naval skirmishes until the defence of Petrograd in October 1919 when Trotsky led them to victory and praised them extravagantly.



served as a training and recruiting ground during the civil war and these recruits, far from making false boasts as Trotsky states, deserved some of Kronstadt's glory. Trotsky also does not mention the conflicts between the 1917 Kronstadters and the Bolsheviks before the civil war. In temperament, commitment and political outlook, the only difference between the Kronstadt forces of 1917 and those of 1921 was in their attitudes to the Bolshevik leadership.

Trotsky does give a grotesquely condescending portrait of what he considers to be a good Kronstadter. It is a portrait in dehumanized dog-like devotion, and the Trotsky family reaction as well as Trotsky's purple prose is basically a middle-class response to the death of the family dog:

> ""Boys, boys, Markin is dead!"
>
> Two pale faces were twisted with sudden pain before me. They had been on an equal footing with the sullen Nikolay. He had initiated them into his plans and into the secrets of his life. With tears in his eyes, he had told the nine-year-old Seryozha that the woman he had loved so dearly and so long had deserted him, and that was why there was often darkness and sullenness in his soul. In a frightened whisper, and with tears in his eyes, Seryozha had confided this secret to his mother. This tender friend, who had opened his soul to

> the boys as if they had been his equals, was at the same time an old sea-wolf and revolutionary, a true hero, like those of the most marvellous fairy-tales. Could it really be true that the Markin who, in the basement of the ministry, had taught them how to use revolver and gun was now dead? In the silence of the night, two little bodies shook under their blankets after the black news came. Only their mother heard their disconsolate sobs.[43]

It was the failure of the mass of the Kronstadters to be depersonalized to this level which led to allegations of treachery and counter-revolution.

The concept of the rebels as white guard agents has generally been dropped by all but a handful of Trotskyist and Stalinist historians, and is now posed in a more subtle and possibly accurate manner. Were they the dupes of white guard conspirators and/or were they supported by them and foreign capitalists?[44] As Trotsky says, white emigres and some foreign capitalists loudly welcomed the rebellion and collected funds for it. The starving and freezing Kronstadters rejected all aid except that of the Red Cross - a tiny amount of their food reached them. A month later Lenin and Trotsky begged the Red Cross for massive food supplies and this was organized by Herbert Hoover, the future American president and leading anti-communist.

In 1970 historian Paul Avrich found evidence which showed the whites may have had a hand in stirring up the rebellion and had links within the Kronstadters' leadership. One piece of evidence was an anonymous and secret memorandum written in early 1921 which was sent to white guards in Europe. Entitled "Memorandum on the Question of Organizing an Uprising in Kronstadt", it seems to be written by an outside observer who sees a golden opportunity for the whites if they give some outside support to an upcoming rebellion. This rebellion is hardly secret. There are "numerous and unmistakable signs" which the "soviet government is well informed about" and has taken preparations for. The author then goes on to discuss in knowledgeable terms problems of artillery and food supply during the upcoming battle. He hopes that French warships and General Wrangel's troops will arrive in time and discusses the amount of money needed. This memorandum was probably the cause of the reports of a Kronstadt rebellion in French newspapers two weeks before the event. Trotsky and Lenin used this to show it was a capitalist conspiracy. The author of the memorandum however was an observer, not an activator of events. His attempt to link up the whites and the rebels shows they were separate forces.

The author of the memorandum was living in never-never land if he thought Wrangel was capable of launching an invasion. According to like-minded modern Trotskyists he and his fleet were in Tunisia "only a few days' sailing from Kronstadt when the ice melted" just[45]

waiting for a chance to reinvade. An obvious reality is that the voyage from Tunisia to Kronstadt takes more than a few days. Wrangel's fleet and army of 80,000 had other problems - they barely existed. Wrangel's navy was so small and ineffectual they relied on British and French troops to evacuate them during 1920. Either Trotsky or his underlings warned the Kronstadters that if they fled they would end up like "the soldiers of General Wrangel" who were "led away to Constantinople where they died of hunger and disease".[46]

This is the reality of Trotsky's white guard re-invasion. Even Lenin admitted that in Kronstadt "There they do not want either the whiteguards or our government."[47] But did Lenin want to keep capitalism out of Russia? During the rebellion it was Lenin's government which was doing secret sell-out deals with French capitalism, as Lenin's letter demonstrates:

"Moscow March 17 1921
Mr Washington B. Vanderlip

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your kind letter of 14th cr and am very glad to hear of President Harding's favorable views as to our trade with America. You know what value we attach to our future business relations. We fully recognize the part played in this respect by your syndicate and also the great importance of your personal efforts. Your new proposals are highly interesting and I have asked the Supreme Council of National Economy to report to me at short intervals about the progress of negotiations. You can be sure that we will treat every reasonable suggestion with the greatest attention and care. It is on production and trade that our efforts are principally concentrated and your help is to us of the greatest value.

If you have to complain of some officials please send your complaint to the respective People's Commissary who will investigate the matter and report if necessary. I have already ordered special investigation concerning the person you mention in your letter.

The congress of the Communist Party has taken so much of my time and forces that I am very tired and ill. Will you kindly excuse me if I am unable to have an interview with you just now. I will beg Comrade Chicherin to speak with you shortly.

Wishing you much success I remain

Wl Oulvanoff (Lenin)."[48]

The attitude of big business is best shown by 'Punch' which in its March 1921 issue had a cartoon showing Lloyd George knocking on a door marked Russian Trading Co. Office. Inside the office is in extreme disarray, as Trotsky and a Kronstadter claw and strangle each other. Lloyd George quips: "Good morning, gentlemen. I'm afraid I've called on your busy day."

Petrichenko, a leading Kronstadter, may have had ties with the white guards before, and more probably after, the rebellion. According to an interview with the 'New York Times', he tried joining the whites in mid-1920 while he was in the Ukraine, but was rejected as an ex-Bolshevik. After the rebellion he and a few other survivors made a pact with Wrangel and supposedly engaged in anti-soviet activity in Petrograd. These links were unknown until Paul Avrich uncovered them in interviews and previously unknown letters. Were the Bolsheviks right?

The picture of Petrichenko which emerges strains credibility. He swings from being a Bolshevik, to being a white guard, to Ukrainian nationalism, to the Social Revolutionaries and to stances of being an anarchist and an unaligned radical Kronstadt rebel. This is barely credible, but he goes through some stages several times, joining the Bolsheviks in 1919, possibly in 1923, and at the end of his life in the 1940s. He supposedly swung to the whites twice, to being published in Social Revolutionary journals in 1925 after denouncing them in 1921 and going through other phases beforehand.[49] All this may be true but it is also possible that some newspaper reports were inaccurate or the Bolsheviks fed faked documents for propaganda purposes and used agent provocateurs. Such a case happened with Trotsky in 1927 when Stalin's police sent a paid former Wrangel officer into Trotsky's entourage and then made much of his discovery.

Petrichenko was one of the sponsors of the Petropavlovsk Resolution, chairman of the meeting of March 1, and of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee, but neither he nor General Kozolovsky whom the Bolsheviks made so much of, led the rebellion. The advice and orders of both men were frequently ignored and decisions were made by the committees. The disintegration of the Kronstadters' defence line in the last attack shows an uncommanded force. Kozolovsky and Petrichenko were neither great heroes nor great leaders or white guard agents. They were among the first to flee to Finland, and neither received any reward for their acts from the whites. Kozolovsky seems to have been a quiet, doddering career officer. As a Czarist, a white guard or an agent, he would have been killed, or fled in the events of 1917, or purged later. By October 1920 he had served the Bolsheviks so loyally that the commander made him chief of staff, and rewarded him with a watch for his active role in fighting Yudenich.[50]

Trotsky called his opponents primitive peasants, Social Revolutionaries, opportunists and Czarists, but what of Chicherin and Kuzmin, both former Social Revolutionaries? What of Tukachevsky, S.S. Kamenev,

Raskalnikov, and Antonov Ovensenko - like Kozolovsky they had been careerist officers before 1917. What of the Bashkir and Chinese conscripts who fought the peasant Ukrainian conscripts? Both Bolsheviks and some Kronstadters had ties with foreign capitalists but the Bolsheviks' ties were stronger. Both sides have to be judged by what they practised. The Kronstadters tried to return the revolution to the dreams of 1917. The Bolsheviks, particularly Trotsky, were taking it into the nightmare of what became known as Stalinism.

28. My account of both this and the final battle is based on the following sources: Voline, Serge, Goldman, Berkman, Ciliga, Maximoff, the writings of Lenin and Trotsky, those of the rebels in "Izvestia O Kronstadt", photographic evidence reproduced by Wyndham and King, the account of Barmine in One Who Survived, and several secondary sources who had access to rare Bolshevik, Social Revolutionary and independent documents. These include Avrich, Wheatley, Getzler, Butson, Pollack, Schapiro and Mett.

29. Wheatley, Red Eagle, p. 275. Goldman and Butson state there were numerous such shootings, but do not mention how many. See My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 198, and Butson's The Czar's Lieutenant, pp. 126-127. See also footnote 33.

30. Deutscher, The Prophet Armed, p. 513, and "Izvestia O Kronstadt", No. 8, March 10, 1921.

31. Berkman, The Bolshevik Myth, p. 306, and My Disillusionment in Russia, pp. 199-200. Goldman and Berkman talked to two different soldiers who found they had been lied to.

32. Avrich, Op. Cit., p. 211, also Butson, p. 131, and Harrison E. Salsbury, Russia in Revolution 1900-1930. (London; Andre Deutsch, 1978.) p. 238.

33. Frankfurter Zeitung and Posledie Novostie No. 281, quoted by Emanuel Pollack in The Kronstadt Rebellion. (New York; Philosophical Library, 1959.) pp. 49-50. Pollack also accepts Maximoff's and Berkman's estimates.

34. Maximoff, pp. 196-197 and pp. 252-253.

35. The quotes are by Berkman, Serge and Goldman. See The Russian Tragedy, p. 104; Memoirs of a Revolutionary, p. 131; and My Disillusionment in Russia, p. 198.

36. Wheatley, p. 277.

37. Trotsky, 'Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt', Op. Cit., p. 88.

38. Deutscher, Op. Cit., pp. 513-514, Wyndham and King, pp. 84-88, and Segal, pp. 247-248.

39. Trotsky, 'Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt', and 'The Questions of Wedlin Thomas', Op. Cit.

40. Voline, p. 465, Avrich, pp. 88-92, Wyndham and King, p. 84.

41. E. Snowden, Through Bolshevik Russia, p. 85.

42. Getzler, pp. 208-209.

43. My Life, p. 294.

44. See Pierre Frank's Introduction to Kronstadt, pp. 11-37; Rosmer, p. 120; and 'Kronstadt and Counter Revolution', a two-part article in "Workers Vanguard" (sic) March 3 and April 28, 1978, Issues 195 and 203. No editor or article author is credited.

45. 'Kronstadt and Counter Revolution', Op. Cit., No. 203, p. 7. See also Rosmer, Moscow Under Lenin, pp. 119-122.

46. A radio broadcast put out by the Provisional Defence Committee was reprinted by "Izvestia O Kronstadt", No. 4, March 6, 1921. Trotsky and Zinoviev were the leaders of this Committee.

47. Lenin, March 15, 1921, Speech to the 10th Party Congress on Grain Expropriation in The Collected Works, Vol. 32, p. 228.

48. Lenin, Letter of March 17, 1921, The Collected Works. Vol. 45, p. 98.

49. Avrich, pp. 93-95. The anonymous memorandum is reproduced in full as an Appendix, pp. 235-240.

50. Getzler, p. 219.

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Anarchist Ideology

Bookchin defines Anarchism in its strict sense as an ideology that envisions a society that is rulerless, stateless and authority-free. However, the strategy with which to achieve these principles had divided the Anarchists into camps advocating organisation (the Anarcho-Collectivists) and those stressing individualism (the Anarcho-Communists). Later, Anarcho-Syndicalism, with its emphasis on union action, emerged as the most dominant variety of Anarchism in both cities.

In Barcelona, as a result of the repression of the 1880's and the 1890's, Anarchist activists endorsed the strategy of 'Propaganda by the Deed'. This strategy is the main focus of Florencio's study. Although Anarchists had already acknowledged the use of violence for revolutionary ends, it was only at the Congress of London in July of 1881 that this use became more clearly defined as 'Propaganda by the Deed'. This philosophy stressed individual acts of violence as a form of revolutionary self-sacrifice, a critical destruction of society and its values, a rise in the potential of the possibilities of the individual being, and the severing of the links of the proletariat with its rival social classes. Propaganda by the Deed was perceived as a method with which to shake the foundations of the bourgeoisie by silencing it and petrifying it through individual violent actions, and propaganda in the form of oral and written communication. The theory emphasised the law of the individual above all else. At first, this theory(supported by Kropotkin, but not Bakunin) did not gain ground in Barcelona till the FTRE was dissolved in 1888. Acts of terrorism became especially pronounced in the 1890's but then declined in the 1900's, when it was clear that these acts were not producing the desired results. Florencio believes that in reality these acts of violence did not constitute part of any definite objective but were mostly performances of vengeance under the conditions of frustration, desperation and impotence that dominated the working class districts of Barcelona.(23) Bookchin too, argues that the strategy 'Propaganda by the Deed' was counterproductive and attributed the slow growth of the Anarchist movement to the fact that most Barcelona workers never accepted the emphasis on violence in this theory. By the 1900's, most Anarchists abandoned the theory as a strategic form of direct action, and libertarian and Anarcho-Syndicalist ideas took over.

In Buenos Aires, Propaganda by the Deed was espoused by the pro-Kropotkin newspaper El Perseguido, but its propagation had little effect, if any, among Anarchists there. The majority of Anarchists seemed to have favoured strikes as the major form of action. There were virtually no acts of terrorism in the 1890's (only one recorded in 1894 (24)) and, thereafter, only two: the assassination of the Buenos Aires Chief of Police, Colonel Falcon, along with his secretary, in 1909 in reprisal for his role in the violent suppression of a workers demonstration; and, in 1923, the assassination of Colonel Varela, who brutally put down a strike in Patagonia in 1920-21. (25)

Each author consulted for this essay has dwelled briefly on the definition of the various ideological currents shaping the Anarchist movement. Although each interpretation differs in emphasis and detail, in essence, they basically arrive at the same conclusions. These can be summarised as follows.

Anarcho-Collectivism: dominating Anarchist thought and strategy in Barcelona and Buenos Aires up to the 1880's, this was the formula proposed by Bakunin. The basis of this theory was its vision of a stateless society of free, decentralised communes joined by pacts and contracts in which the collective would serve as the basic social unit. The source of livelihood in these collectives would be determined by the amount of labour an individual contributes. Although each would receive the full fruits of his/her labour, the quantity received would be dependent upon the work performed but would not be contingent upon needs. The main source of disagreement between Bakunin's Anarchism and Kropotkin's centred on the strategy to bring down the existing order. Bakunin dismissed Kropotkin's emphasis on the Propaganda by the Deed, arguing that the masses were sufficiently revolutionary and did'nt need to be 'educated' by individual acts of terrorism and propaganda. All you needed, he argued, was an organisation of conspirators to capitalise on this revolutionary potential. If necessary, the organisation of popular militias would bring down the order.

Anarcho-Communism: dominated the Anarchist movement in Barcelona and Buenos Aires from the late 1880's till the late 1900's. Its main protagonist was Kropotkin. The manner in which it differed from Bakunin's vision of a future society was in the role of the social unit. Kropotkin insisted that after the revolution each commune would be capable of distributing its produce according to individual needs, not by the amount of labour contributed. Essentially, Anarcho-Communists rejected any concepts of a state and private property. It projected a loose confederation of communes that would allow both individuals and local units substantial self-determination. The primary goal was the destruction of the state and its replacement with a society in which small groups of individuals make the basic decisions. The strategies with which to achieve this were unlimited, spontaneous strikes, slowdowns, boycotts and acts of sabotage. Because the state held power by force, and therefore illegitimately, violence and lawbreaking were considered justifiable retaliations. Workers should collaborate for the purpose of self-defence. Anarcho-Communists avoided formulating dogmatic platforms and, unlike the Socialists and later the Communists, did not outline detailed programmes. They believed that workers should act according to their specific circumstances.

Anarcho-Syndicalism: probably French in origin, emphasised the general strike rather than spontaneous action as the principal weapon in bringing down the state. This theory envisaged a revolutionary economic union of workers, as distinct from a political party as proposed by the Communists for instance, assuming decision-making. It believed (in contrast to the 'purist' Anarchist) that a federation of unions could assume the role of the state, with the wage-earning population as the collective ruling and property-owning group. (26)

Anarchist ideology goes beyond the parameters of the tenets outlined above as is apparent as we examine how it raised the consciousness of workers and permeated attitudes. These themes are intrinsic to Bookchin' study. Kaplan examines women in this context, and Spalding and Bergquist provide some hints of the Buenos Aires case to this end.

Bookchin states that Anarchism in Spain produced a radical change in attitudes among those workers committed to it

> They improvised new ideas (many turning to vegetarianism), flirted with naturopathy, studied Esperanto, and in some cases practiced nudism. Extolling spontaneity in behaviour, they had a fascination for libertarian forms of education and for techniques of childrearing that promoted the natural proclivities of the young. Their emphasis on freedom became the most serious challenge to the rigid mores and medieval fanaticism of the time (27).

Kaplan argues that women participating in the anarchist movement were most radical and most unified when they formed their women's organizations. In her view,"What female anarchists won for themselves, they won by themselves, and they were better anarchsits for their feminism(28)." One could equally argue that males were better 'feminists' as a result of their participation in the anarchist movement. Note Bookchin's evaluation:

> A male Spanish anarchist...rarely wavered in his loyalty to his companera. He genuinely respected her dignity, an attitude he extended to his dealings with his children and comrades (29).

In both cities, Anarchists placed a great deal of emphasis on schools(whcih taught a wide range of subjects) for all ages, publication, free legal services, cultural events and entertainment. Most of these activities were funded from union funds.

Immigrants, Migrants, and International Bonds

Much of the literature attests to the international bonds that existed in the Anarchist movement. These included the participation in international conferences, demonstrations in solidarity with persecuted activists in the labour movement (including non-Anarchists), strong contacts with Anarchists abroad, and the publication of articles, written by foreign Anarchists, in local newspapers of the movement. Oved's study, for instance,shows repeated references to activities from Barcelona arriving in Buenos Aires. Paz, in his study of Durruti, vividly describes his visit, along with Francisco Ascaso and Gregorio Jover, to Buenos Aires in the 1920s, as well as their calls to other parts of Latin America to engage in Anarchist

activity. There have been numerous references to leading foreign Anarchists (especially from Italy) spending some time in either (or both) Buenos Aires or Barcelona. Paz and Kern, for instance, examine the relationship of the exiled Ukrainian Anarchist, Nestor Makhno, with the Spanish Anarchist movement. Kern notes that Makhno was commissioned by Spanish Anarchists to analyse flaws in their tactics and to provide suggestions for a new paramilitary movement (30). This "patriarch and hero of the radical Russian exile community abroad", as Kern describes him (31), merits further investigation. Because the bulk of his writings appeared in Russian (as opposed to Ukrainian, Makhno had become linguistically Russified as a result of long prison sentences in Russian jails), French and Spanish, it would be interesting to assess what impact he may have had on the sub stantial community in Buenos Aires from the Russian empire (in the main Jews, Ukrainians and Russians), many of whom were anarchists.

It has often been suggested that Italian and Spanish immigration account for the rise of anarchism in Bueno Aires, while Andalusian migrati on has been attributed to its rise in Barcelona. For the former, Berquist treats this theoty with some reservation:

> The appeal of anarchist and syndicalist ideology to Argentine workers in this period is often attributed to the southern European origins of the large numbers of immigrants in the work force. This cultural, diffusionist explanation is correct, as far as it goes. But it neglects the concrete structural conditions that made anarcho-syndicalist ideiology seem especially appropriate to workers in early-twentieth-century Argentine society. Argentine workers, like their counterparts in southern Europe, found in anarchism, and later syndicalism, a vision of the world and a program for social transformation that validated and explained their daily experience and spoke to their special needs and aspirations. Given the nature of the obstacles and opportunities in their efforts to improve the quality of their lives, most Argentine workers found socialist ideology and tactics inadequate, if not irrelevant (32).

As for the Barcelona case, Bookchin is the only one who takes up the Andalusian theory and convincingly dispels it. In the first instance, he argues, the majority of the migrants to the city were not from Andalusia, but from the Levante region. Bookchin acknowledges, however, that a sizable proportion of these migrants became strong supporters of the anarchist movement in Barcelona. In a situation where they were treated with contempt and as secondclass citizens, they saw in Anarchism a means of reversing this abuse. Ironically, Bookchin contends, these migrants did not fit the classical Marxist model of the 'lumpen proletariat', which assumes that such rural migrants, living on the margins of urban society, are devoid of any revolutionary fervour. On the contrary, he argues, the continued flow of migrants from these preindustrial 'pueblos' strengthened the revolutionary movement of the Barcelona proletariat. Placing too much emphasis on the role of southern immigrants in accounting for the origins of Anarchism in Buenos Aires can lead to problems. How could one explain its relative weakness in Sao

Paulo with its massive concentration of Italian and Spanish immigrants, or its virtual absence in a city such as New York, with its large nuclei of Italian immigrants? One would need to search further into the roots of 19th century working class organization in Buenos Aires in order to produce a more satisfactory explanation. It is clear, that prior to the arrival of immigrants en masse, mutual-aid societies, developed mainly by artisans, were operating in Buenos Aires. These societies ran employment agencies, an insurance and savings plan, cooperatives, and schools for workers and children. Spalding notes that these societies were absorbed by Anarchists. (33) Indeed, these mutual-aid societies would be a concept that immigrants could easily identify with and accommodate themselves to, and they were an ideal especially encouraged by the Anarchists. One of the founding principles of Anarchism, therefore, already existed prior to mass immigration. The Anarchist activists, and their immigrant followers, only strengthened and modified the concept. By 1913, these mutual-aid societies, operating along ethnic lines, enrolled half the working class of Buenos Aires. (34)

Spalding hints at another reason why the immigrants may have been attracted to Anarchism. The transitory nature of the immigration, where immigrants arrived with the intention of working for a few years and then returning home with some cash saved, saw a strategy with the onus upon immediate action for immediate concessions as being more appealing and effective than those of the socialist and communist platforms which stressed electoral participation and long-term strategies (it should be noted here that most immigrants were not eligible to vote). This seems plausible, but not entirely credible. If this theory were correct, then one would expect it to apply more to the tenant-farmer 'golondrinas', with their high return rates, than the more stable Buenos Aires urban population where the Anarchist movement was prevalent.

Finally, by focusing too much attention on Spanish and Italian immigrants as the 'carriers of the idea' one ignores the broader, much more complex picture. It is evident that Anarchism was not limited solely to these immigrants as can be deduced from studies of other immigrant groups. Why, for instance, did the major Anarchist newspaper in Buenos Aires, La Protesta, find it necessary to print articles in Yiddish along with Spanish and Italian, and the movement to circulate leaflets in German, French and English? Add this to the fact that the editor of one Anarchist newspaper, El Oprimido, was not an Italian or a Spaniard, but an Englishman by the name of John Creaghe. Furthermore, one too often assumes that the Italian and Spanish immigrants were in contact with Anarchist ideas prior to their departure. While this may be true of a select number, there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case for the majority. The Anarchist movement in Spain had not developed a strong base in rural Galicia, for instance, which was the major sending zone for the majority of the Spanish emigrants to Argentina. Similar regional differences in terms of Anarchist influence and the backgrounds of immigrants, existed among the Italians. This would suggest that many of the immigrants, as is true also of immigrants of other nationalities, probably came into contact with Anarchist ideas (or at least were initially attracted to them) for the first time in Buenos Aires, and, if

so, they differed little in this respect from the Levante migrants in Barcelona.

Conclusion

The literature implies that while the studies of Anarchism in Spain are advancing to a more sophisticated stage of research, those of the history of Anarchism in Argentina are still in their infancy. If one salient conclusion has been arrived at in this essay, it is the importance of examining the evolution of the Anarchist movement in the two cities on a comparative level. The economic developments of the two cities were strikingly similar, and the bonds between the two Anarchist movements were exceptionally cohesive. To a degree, one could even argue that the Buenos Aires Anarchists derived their inspiration from developments in the Anarchist movement in Barcelona, but for the moment, this should remain a hypothesis.

As the studies of Anarchism progress, they might address such issues as how workers were mobilized for the various actions, especially in Buenos Aires with its highly multi-ethnic population, and finally, the legacies that Anarchism left behind in Barcelona and Buenos Aires, the two most notable cities that had nurtured it.

Footnotes

(22) Bergquist, p.111

(23) Florencio, p.189

(24) Oved, p.55

(25) Colombo, pp.186-187

(26) There were also 'Anarcho-Socialists', 'Anarcho-Individualists', and 'Anarcho-Bolsheviks', but these were marginal currents in the Anarchist movement.

(27) Bookchin, p.58

(28) Kaplan, p.402

(29) Bookchin, p.58

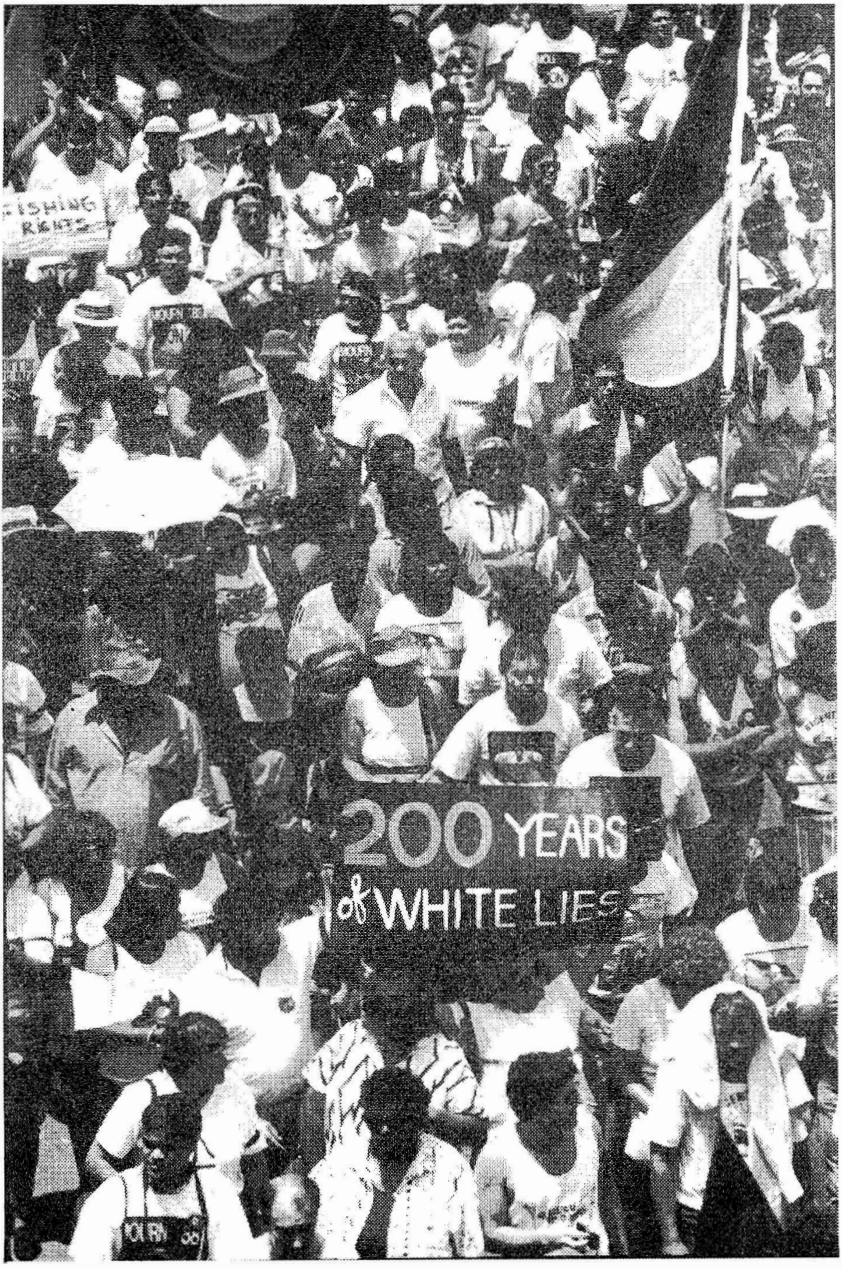
(30) Kern, p.126

(31) Ibid, p.69

(32) Bergquist, p.108

(33) Spalding, p.16

(34) Bergquist, p.107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Dictatorship & Proletariat

PART 3
REFORMISM AND THE PROLETARIAT

Whatever the possibilities of revolutionary councils, and I have argued that, at the least, they are of considerable theoretical interest, it is true that they offer no program for immediate practical application in the advanced capitalist societies. The revolutions expected by Marx have failed to eventuate. Marx himself, writing in England after the second Reform Bill of 1867, which had extended the vote to some wor kers suggested the possibility that Britain, the United States and a number of other countries might evolve peacefully towards socialism. After a period of apathy among socialists waiting for 'the time to be ripe' and afraid that any meliorist activi ty would be worse than useless, as delaying the 'emiseration' of the proletariat; most socialists have ended by accepting the main points of Bernstein's 'revisionism'. Przeworsky sums up in three points the argumensts for reformism:

"1) Social Democracy has been the prevalent manner of organ ization of workers under capitalism
2) Reformist parties have enjoyed the support of workers
3) Social Democracy is the only political force of the left that can demonstrate an extensive record of reforms in favour of the workers (42).

He goes on to point out that:

> ...the proletariat was not and never became, a numerical majority of any society. The prediction that the displaced members of the old middle class would either become prole tarians or join the army of the unemployed did not materi alize.
> and notes that:
> according to the Communist Manifesto the lawyer, the poet, the man of science, were being converted into prole tarians.(42)

Now it is true that the proletariat has not been progresiv ely emiserated and reduced to desperation, as was expected by Marx. It is also true that most people living in advance capitalist societies do not thing of themselves as proletarian s, or vote as proletarians. However, if we take the defining feature of the proletariat to be not its low status but its economic status, that is, its relation to the means of produc tion; then it is certainly true that most people work for wages or salary and depend on selling their labour or their skills as a commodity on the market. In that sense the great

mass has been proletarianized. The great majority of people is now without control or rights over the means of production because these are in the hands either of private property or of the state. Moreover automation is now reducing the market value of labour and most skills.

In discussing the prospects of automation Marx admits its consequences for the labour theory of value but does not discuss its consequences for the class struggle. He emphasizes rather the potentially liberating effect of the machine, as it might affect life in a classless society:

> To the extent that largescale industry develops, the creation of real wealth comes to depend less on labour time and the quantity of labour expended, than upon the power of the instruments which are set in motion during labour time, whose powerful effectiveness is likewise unrelated to the labourtime directly involved in their production but depends rather upon the general state of science and the progress of technology or the application of this science to production...labour no longer appears as an integral part of the process of production...the surplus labour of the masses has ceased to be a condition for the development of wealth in general, just as the nonlabour of the few has ceased to be a condition for the development of the general powers of the human mind (44).time

To anyone who takes a class-struggle view of history, however, automation provides no cheerful prospect for the proletariat. Under all past economies, slaves or wage-slaves, however badly treated, had to be maintained as a necessary part of the mode of production. The only possession of the proletariat as such is its labour or skills; its only weapon in the class struggle is the threat to withdraw its labour or its skill. This is another revolution in the mode of production, carrying on from the industrial revolution: first the proletariat is called into being, losing in the process all claim to control the means of production, then it is made redundant, and becomes dependent upon a handful of technocrats, private good will and the bounty of the state.

> The proletariat would seem then to have the prospect of actually reduplicating the status of the original proletariat, that of ancient Rome, dependent on handout from the state. The Roman case is our only historical precedent for the support of a large class of poor beggers It is at best an insecure and unsatisfactory state, although the Roman proles were at least supported above subsistence level, being given circuses as well as bread. Regular distribution of food was, however, confined to the City of Rome itself, proles in other areas were dependent on private charity (45).

The alternatives are either to trust in the welfare state or somehow to reassert the right to control of the means of production and the right to enjoy what is produced. Probably the best general solution is that sketched out by Abrahamsson, who wants recognition of the 'rights of labour' as the basis of social and industrial power, to be secured by legislation.

> ...welfare ideology..(is).. lacking in both goals and possibilities to influence the basic power structure of society. It carries with it risks of a development in the direction of 'state socialism' and it is worse political alternative than the principle of labour rights (46)/

Another radical suggestion, which we might call 'household rights' is of particular interest to women. It is that of recognizing the household as a workplace. This would raise the possibility of incorporating each as a cell in a local commune, and would ensure rights to those without employment.

> A third or more of a capitalist society's work is done at home, mostly by women. Like other productive work it needs capital chiefly land and buildings. But government makes people pay out of taxed income for the use of that domestic capital it is out of taxed income that they have to buy or rent their houses...a wide range of urban dist ributions and policies are accordingly distorted to the disadvantage of social production as a whole, to the disa dvantage of domestic production in particular, and to the gross disadvantage of the women who do most of the domestic work not only for less income, but also with less space and working capital than an efficient system would allocate to the work(47).

Patricia Apps is an Australian economist who treats domestic work as work and domestic production as production rather than consumption. She argues that "All activities were once household activities" and that "households produce the work force." "The economic system appropriates the contribution of the household industries."

> If incomes do not accrue directly to household industries then these activities do not have full control of rein vestment for the development of the industries...Growth in these industries might be expected therefore, to be extremely restricted, the term 'growth' for, say, child care, implying a real improvement in the opportunities for the child(48).

To reject the welfare state as a sufficient guarantor of proletarian interests is not necessarily to reject political action. Higgins points out that "politics matter" to the wor kers: some decisions can only be taken at a political level. Legislation, moreover, fixes gains that might otherwise be temporary. There is no need to accept an absolute dichotomy between political and industrial action. Even the syndicalists accept the necessity to come to some sort of terms with the existing state. However in some sense, if one accepts class conflict and class interests, the primacy must always remain with the industrial field. A strong trade union movement is not correlated with a high level of strike activity any more than a strong man is always having to fight, employers are more likely to come to terms with a strong union movement. But the weapons must be there and ready to be used and the rank and file should always be able to use them against the state or its own delegates, if need be. Thatcherism is demon strating at present how little trust can be placed in the wel fare state as such.

The Swedish case shows the importance of a strong union movement, in close contact with a political party: "The Swedish Social Democratic Party, unlike some others of that name, is, in fact, a labor party that is, a party to which trade unions belong(49)." The early dominance of industrial unionism and an exceptionally high percentage of both blue and whitecollar workers have helped to structure the politics of Sweden.

In most countries middle class workers have been slow to unionise. As proletarians, in the sense discussed above, they have a community of interest with the workingclass, but a social gulf yawns between.

> It is important for the unions to note that the increase in nonmanual workers has not been among the clerks, shopworkers and others on the frontiers of trade unionism. The proportion of such people has in fact declined and will go on doing so since their jobs, quite as much as those of manual workers will often be made unnecessary by mechanisation and automation. The groups which are showing a marked increase are rather the professional and semiprofessional workers and administrators, people who are a long way removed from the trade union movement as we usually think of it(50)

Once it is granted that, in a class war, one's priorities should be where one's weapons are, it is possible to question Panitch's statement that:

Corporation must be seen as a system of state structured collaboration. As such, its extension poses not an opportunity, but a danger to workingclass organizations(51)

The two possibilities are not mutually exclusive: it poses both opportunities and dangers. Crosland indicates the scope of trade union interests:

Workers are influencing the daytoday decisions of management. This they have done by extending the field of collective barg aining far beyond the traditional questions of wages and hours: it now covers such questions as the organization of work, equitable pay differentials, promotion policy, and even (through the threat of a redundancy strike or a stoppage over the dismissal of an individual) the employers most cherished right of all, namely that of deciding 'who' and'how many' to employ (52)

The final and most necessary step for the unions should be the socialization of the means of production and the democratisation of state and bureaucratic functions. As Przeworski says:

> The recurrent theme of social democracy has been precisely the notion of 'extending' the democratic principle from the political to the social, in effect principally economic realm (53)

The Australian Labor Party accepted a socialisation objective' in 1921:

> The experiences of the workers in State industries, the framers of 1921 argued, was that it 'was worse for the workers than under private control.' Therefore the workers employed in industry must be given control of the industry (54).

The possibility that socialisation of the means of production can be achieved through unionism offers a far more radical and complete answer to proletarianisation than any form of corporatism, which merely allows the workers a counter vailing voice.

> The hundred workers in a factory cannot individually be owners of the factory. But can they not be the owner collectively? Therein lies the idea of industrial democracy. (55).

Wigforss's question leads naturally to a reevaluation of syndicalist ideas of organization, so similar to and compatible with the apparently spontaneous democratic structures of the Commune and the revolutionary workers' councils. Michels describes the basic syndicalist strategy:

> But the syndicalists also desire (and here they are in open conflict with all other currents of contemporary socialism) that the trade union should not merely be an asylum for socialist ideas, but that it should also directly promote socialist activity, pursuing not simply a trade unionist policy in the amplest sense of the term, but in addition and above all a socialist policy. Syndicalism is to put an end to the dualism of the labour movement by substituting for the party, whose sole functions are politicoelectoral, and for the trade union, whose sole functions are economic, a completer organism which shall represent a synthesis of the political and the economic function (56)

Syndicalists have often eschewed political action, but this is not an essential feature(57); similarly, there are reformist(58) as well as revolutionary possibilities. In each case the new society is realized, gradually or at once, by the proletariat's own organizations which are the foundations of the classless society. Marx speaks of the unions as the 'school for socialism' in his advice to a delegation of German trade unionists in 1869, and it will be appropriate to conclude with Marx, for once, directly addressing the proletariat:

> If they wish to accomplish their task, trade unions ought never to be attached to a political association or place themselves under its tutelage; to do so would be to deal themselves a mortal blow. Trade unions are the school of socialism...they alone are capable of presenting a true working class party and opposing a bulwark to the power of capital (59).

42) Przeworski, Social Democracy as a Social Phenomenon.

43)..From this it would seem that Marx's primary meaning must be simply emiseration since the lawyer, the poet and those practicing professions generally, had always to find a market for their skills. However, consider also Marx's discussion of Malthus' hope "that the middle class will grow in size and that the working class will form a continually diminishing proportion of the total population (even if it grows in absolute numbers). That is, in fact, the trend of bourgeois society." Theories of Surplus Value (my emphasis).

44) Marx, Grundrisse

45) Finley, The Ancient Economy.

46) Abrahamsson, The Rights of Labour.

47) Stretton, Urban Planning in Rich and Poor Countries.

48) Apps, A Theory of Inequality and Taxation
49) Rawson, Labour Parties and Trade Unions.

50) Rawson, op.cit.

51) Panitch, Trade Unions and the Capitalist State.

52) Grosland, Socialism Now

53) Przeworski, Op. Cit

54) Sorry I mislaid this source
55) Wigforss, quoted in Higgins, Ernst Wigforss and the Renewal of Social-Democratic Theory and Practice.

56) Michels, Political Parties

57) "Considerent que le syndicalisme ne saurait etre indifferent a la forme de l'Etat parce qu'il ne pourrait exister en dehors d'un regime democratique, les syndicats Force Ouvrier reconnaissent au mouvement syndical le droit, lequel peut devenir un devoir, de realiser les rapprochement ou les collaborations en vue d'une action determinee lorsque la situation l'exige expressement."(from the constitution of the Confederation Generale du Travail, in Landier Organisations Syndicales.

58) ..si tous les jours on lutte,on se bat pour etendre, pour elargir les institutions sociales qui ameliorent, en permanence, le sort de travailleurs; alors, a tous ceux qui pensent comme nous, et ils sont lew plus nombreux, nous offrons l'expression et les moyens d'action d'un reformisme militant ayant integre dans son action quotidienne, le pensee revolutionnaire" Sandri quoted in Landrier, see above.

59) Marx, quoted in footnote in Miliband, Marxism and Politics

the failure of STATE COMMUNISM

THE BOLSHEVIK INFLUENCE ON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT

Those who are interested in knowing about the fatal influence of Bolshevism on the similar parties in other countries have only to read the infamous circular that the Central Committee of the Unified German Communist Party circulated to the various local sections in May 1921. Particularly the insistance on what is referred to as "Obtaining information" and the active participation in a vast spying system organized by the party. One can read, besides other lovely declarations, the following:

> Information has to be collected and all political and military events that take place in the household examined carefully. The comrade has to assess the importance that existing revolutionary forces have upon their activities - how many are members of R.P.D., U.S.P.D. and S.P.D. etc. - he has to assess the importance of the counter-revolutionary forces and know how many among them will not participated in a serious struggle and, on the other side, how many are active counter-revolutionaries who will confront us in a struggle. He has to find out if the inhabitants of these households are armed, if they have at their disposal an arsenal of weapons, how many are members of "Orgesch", of self-defence organizations and if the counter-revolutionaries hold their meetings there. One has to be involved in regular propaganda among all inhabitants, more specificly among the soldiers, security guards and non-politicized workers, etc. Within his sphere of activities he is to know everybody's details, to know what his present position is vis-a-vis the revolutionary proletariat and, what it will be in the forthcoming struggle.

in this way the workers are involved in spying and are mentally corrupted. The dreary Bolshevik Russian institution, the Tcheka,has already projected its shadow over Germany and , alas, in all probability it will be extended

to other countries according to the respective position of the Communist Party. It is difficult to grasp the abyss created by mutual mistrust and hate within the proletarian milieu. The fruits of this tactic are already clearly visible: never has the working class been so internally divided; never has any other organization put so many obstacles towards the unification of the revolutionary forces as the Bolsheviks and their tool the Third International.

Nontheless, one must not ignore the fact that the majority of communist workers harbour the most sincere intentions and are sincerely convinced of the excellency and expediency of the methods which are presented to them, day after day, as the philosopher's stone. Precisely for the same reason the demand for an "unique proletarian front" is continually advanced in the communist midst. One feels the necessity of unification and thinks that it can be achieved by an extremely strict centralist form of organization; hence the belief that the Third International is the right instrument for achieving this "unique front", which all dream of. If the unity of a movement were nothing other than the mechanical collection of forces on a military model, the infamous 21 points of the Second Congress in Moscow would, perhaps, be the means to realize this dream, within its centralist form going beyond anything that has been done up to now in this domain. But this mechanistic conception, which is the characteristic sign of all military thinking, is an enormous misunderstanding of the facts, a misunderstanding that has been fatal to all Napoleons. Applied to the socialist movement it will only produce the elimination, by violence, of all libertarian and authentic socialist efforts and principles.

They talk of the unity of working people, but they can only portray it within the narrow limits of a party and with a rigid programme. Now socialism, which ought to be the soul of this movement that will breathe into it the invigorating force of a new social becoming, cannot be a closed chapter with fixed and immutable limits, instead it is a constantly evolving knowledge and understanding of the various phenomena of social life. It turns forcibly into dead dogma when it forgets that, which is its real essence, and renounces itself. For that reason each of its different tendencies has a special right to existence because it brings entirely new aspects and perspectives. Anyone who is not able to discern this profound and fundamental truth will conceive the desirable unity as purely

mechanistic and never organic.

CONDITION FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The First International could not have the influence it had on the development of the European workers' movement if its founders had not understood the profound significance of this elementary principle and had not made it an exxential organizational condition of the great worker' it an essential organizational condition of the great workers' association. So far as it remained faithful to it, the International grew with vigour beyond expectations and its creative ideas fertilized the workers' movement. There was one common premiss, a formal tie for each tendency within its ranks: to abolish wage slavery and reorganize society on the bases of communal work, free from exploitation in any form. It told the workers that the real aim of social liberation is their own task but, at the same time, it recognized the inalienable right of each section to fight for this common aim with what appears to them the best and most efficient means, so that they can determine and evaluate the best forms of their own propaganda.

The unity front of the great workers association was broken when the General Council of London attempted to destroy these basic rights and tried to put an end to the autonomy of the sections and federations by forcing them into parliamentary activites. This fatal split, whose grievous consequences are felt today, more than ever, took place when the General Council of London, was completely under the influence of Marx and his friends who never represented the spirit of the International nor the activities of its federation. The First International was a great assembly of syndicalist organizations and propaganda groups. It did not judge the worth of its members on the basis of their membership of a given party, but, rather, it considered their quality as producers, miners, sailors, farmers, workers, technicians,etc. and in this sense it was truly a workers' international, the only one, until now, to deserve that name. Its radical wing of which the most known and influencial representative was Bakunin, did not deny to the German workers the right to parliamentarism, even if it categorically refused, on its side, to adopt such kinds of activities. Bakunin wanted, in return,

the same right for his convictions and activities which, unfortunately, the infamous Conference in London 1871 buried, trampling under foot the organic unity of the working class which had found its real expression in that great Association.

The Second International, from its inception, was not an international of workers but of workers' parties brought together on a parliamentary platform. Excluding from its congresses the tendencies which rejected, on principle, the conquest of political power as a necessary prerequisite for the realization of socialism, it had no claim to the title of workers' international, or for that matter of socialist international, but to a specific tendency within the workers' movement and socialist ideas.

The position of the Third International is very similar, although we have not seen much of its practical activities, unless by practical is meant its many noisy proclamations. The primary interest of its founders apparently - besides the specific political interest of the Bolshevik state whose role should not be under-estimated - was to create an assembly of left elements of the workers' political movements which would be the yeast of the desired world revolution. Even so it was not a question of a true international of workers or even a new assembly of socialist workers' parties but rather only a fraction of them. Lenin himself was quick to realize the inadequate character of such an association and consequently proposed a place in it for the syndicalists, the same syndicalists he had previously attacked violently and against whom, now in Russia, he has declared open warfare. Thus, the promise of the Third International was vastly reduced and it is hard to see how this could rebound to the credit of Moscow.

COMMUNIST CELLS OR FRIENDLY COMPETITION

Naturally any section of a world movement has the right to form international links and no sensible person would deny that. What we ask them to do is to come and fight openly and not to infiltrate, like thieves, into other movements in an attempt to destroy them from within and turn them into instruments for carrying out policies of a given tendency. This new Jesuitism in a communist costume is as blameworthy in its tortuous methods as the "Society of Jesus" which, in the interest

of the Church, sacrificed means to ends. Is not the formation of the well known "cells" within the non-communist workers' organizations, one of the most important duties of members of the Third International, simply a re-edition of Jesuit principles in the workers' movement? In this light one can better understand the lessons full of foreboding that Lenin gave to his party comrades in his well known work "Leftwing communism, an infantile disorder":

> One should know, by any means, how to resist, one should consent to any sacrifice and be ready to do anything, to use also - if necessary - tricks, pretence, illegal methods, silence or simulated truth, in order to enter the syndicates and work from within to further communism.

What trust can one have in people who elevate methods such as these into principles and who make their practice a maxim in the interests of the Party? Is it not to educate a gang of liers and intriguers and to corrupt, systematically, the workers' movement? Is it not to sow the seeds of venom, an action with immoral consequences that none can escape? Is any co-operation possible with an organization professing and practicing such principles?

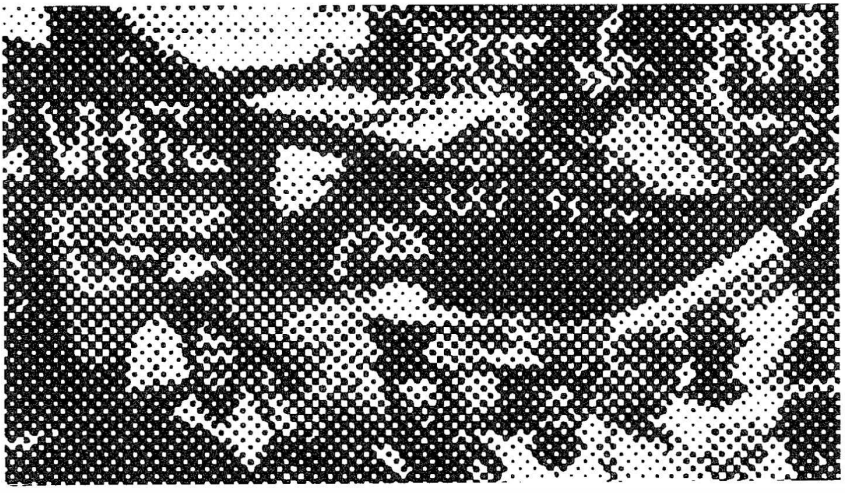
By reading these lines one can understand the secret art of a government that can, in such a shameful way, break off a signed treaty as it did in the case of Makhno. Also one can understand how. to evaluate the news coming from official Soviet sources!

There are no limits when one begins to apply such methods to those who have different opinions, when what is judged as good for others is in fact done for ones own advantage. Therefore, it is not surprising to see the same methods applied to the communist parties themselves in order to test the stable convictions of their militants. Agents of the Third International are despatched out of Russia to spy on national headquarters and to report back to Moscow. In his pamphlet Our Road, Paul Leve gives the following account:

> The official declaration of comrade Radek reveals once again the harmful aspect of the system of delegates, namely, their direct and secret relations to Moscow's headquarters. We think that any country would strongly object to emissaries operating in such a way.

This system is akin to that of Saint-Vheme: the delegates always working from behind, often against the national headquarters, and trusting only Moscow. This system will inevitably destroy any possibility of common work at two levels: among the members of the executive and among the party members. Most of the time these comrades cannot work under the political direction of the party because they are kept in the dark; thus they arrive at the disheartening conclusion that a central political direction does not exist. The only thing the executive does, in this sense, is to send appeals that arrive too late and to issue excommunications that arrive too early. This political direction of the communist international leads to nothing, or more precisely, it leads to catastrophy. The executive behaves like a Tcheka operating beyond Russian frontiers. The demand for change is not a demand for autonomy but a pretext used by the intrusive delegates, lacking any qualificatons, in order to take over the leadership in each country.

It is clear that a man who has arrived at this point of protest, when a year ago he was heartily defending the 21 points, has to be excommunicated. In addition, if one considers that the Third International, subsidized by Russia, had vast sums of money to finance its agents, press and foreign propaganda, thus attracting, like flies to a heap of manure, adventurers and political charlatans, then one can understand the fatal influence that the Bolshevik tactics had on the whole workers' movement.



NOW WE
FIGHT
FOR
YOU PE
STOP
KOORI
88
SACRED

PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CLAIMS.

The centralized and all-powerful State; the rights and needs of individuals subjected to discipline, subordinated to the orders of State functionaries; production organized by the State; citizens enrolled in the *labor army, especially in that of agriculture* ("Communist Manifesto") . . . , such is the queer ideal of the repulsive Socialism that is being imposed on workmen as scientific Socialism. We already know the metaphysical or reactionary philosophy of such a school. Let us now examine its Socialist conceptions, its present claims. Perhaps nowadays, under the influence of general progress in sciences and intellectual culture, Social Democracy modifies the martial conception of the manifesto dated 1848. Let us take the work containing the official program of scientific Social Democracy, by Kautsky: "Basis of Social Democracy."

What does the party profess as regards Socialist production and individual rights in a future society?

In Chapter X., on "Socialism and Liberty," we read: "Socialist production is not compatible with liberty of work; that is to say, with the worker's freedom to work when or how he likes. . . . It is true, under the rule of Capitalism a worker still enjoys liberty up to a certain degree. If he does not quite like a factory, he can find work elsewhere. In a Socialist society (Social Democratic), all the means of production will be concentrated by the State, and the latter will be the only employer; there will be no choice. The workman today enjoys more liberty than he will possess in a Socialist society (Social Democratic).

"It is not Social Democracy that eliminates the right of choosing work and time, but the development (?) of production itself."

Production, but not violence, created all iniquities and oppression in the past, said Engels, and the official work assures us that the same production will create slavery in a Social Democratic society. If it be so, why did the same production in the past create two categories of men; one preaching discipline, subordination, submission and slavery; the other liberty, emancipation, rebellion and solidarity? Why does Social Democracy always preach the doctrines of the first category which history stigmatizes by the name of reaction, obscurantism, and oppression? Altho these two categories resulted from the mode of production, nevertheless humanity accomplished its progressive evolution in always combating both men and institutions of the first category, and in welcoming

both men and institutions of the second. I do not insist on the completely erroneous conception of the exclusive influence of the form of production in history. But even admitting its truth, I do not see why Social Democracy should preach to the oppressed, to the exploited, doctrines of subordination and obscurantism, and strive to ridicule the ideas of emancipation and solidarity preached by Robert Owen and other friends and benefactors of mankind. Do theorists and party leaders find men insufficiently brutalized by Church, State, exploitation, magistrature, Militarism, etc.? . . .

You must not think that the above mentioned passages merely express Kautsky's personal ideas; this ideal of a society subjugated by the State is the fundamental basis of Social Democracy in all countries. Another Social Democrat, Sydney Webb, an Englishman, and far superior to the preceding one, in his pamphlet, "Socialism, True and False," assures his readers that "to dream of an autonomous factory in the future, of a production without rules or discipline . . . is not Socialism." * A third, a Russian this time, Plekhanoff, highly esteemed by Democrats, is so scandalized by the Anarchist assertion that humanity will be able to live in a solidary society, having no other leader than free agreement, that he finds nothing better than to ridicule our principles of solidarity by saying: "In a future society of Anarchists they will guillotine by free agreement." Poor man! Your brain is so encumbered by notions on discipline, order, subordination, executions, and other beauties of a slavish military society, that you cannot even imagine capital punishment abolished by an enlightened humanity.

In the name of what well-being do these dreamers of barracks, army of labor, discipline, and subordination, want to deprive Social Democratic humanity of liberty, initiative, and solidarity? Perhaps they think of realizing a communistic system so perfect, that the individual would willingly submit to all orders and commandments of the State's functionaries. Let us see how Social Democratic legislators pretend to organize the distribution of labor thus disciplined.

The same Kautsky, in Chapter IX. of the same work, "Distribution of Products in the Future State," answering the objections of adversaries of Socialism, declares: "Our adversaries should demonstrate that equal remuneration is an inevitable consequence of Socialism." I think that the adversaries can easily demonstrate to this author and to German Democrats that, outside economic equality or equivalence, there is no Socialism, and that Communism, under the flag of which Engels's pupils

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* Webb says it is Anarchy. I am very grateful for this avowal from the author of *History of Trade-Unionism*. Yes, it is we who preach autonomy and solidarity.

pretend to place themselves, accepts as fundamental principle: "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs." But Kautsky continues in the name of German Democracy to teach workmen that in their Social Democratic State:

"All forms of present wages: remuneration by the hour or the piece, special bonuses for extra valuable work, different salaries for different kinds of work . . . all the forms of contemporary wages, a little modified, are perfectly practicable in a Socialist society." Here it is necessary to bring back to truth this philosopher of scientific Socialism. The wage system will be able to flourish in their Social Democratic State, as it works in the present exploiting capitalistic State, but *never* in a *Socialist* society. The author and his friends are completely mistaken in thinking that their Democratic State, organized in military fashion with the wage system as remuneration, even if called wage of *qualification*, has anything in common with Socialism. The latter, according to the conception of its first expounders, asserts the right of individuals to liberty without restriction, to a complete and harmonious development. It disowns the exploitation of man by man, by society, by the State: it disowns, in fact, the wage system—so dear to German Democrats. The wage system is the basis of Capitalism. In admitting it for your State, you confirm, gentlemen, what good men have long since said of you. You have disfigured the fundamental idea of Socialism: you have substituted for emancipation, discipline and subordination: for solidarity, barrack, order, and obligations; for economic equality, privilege; and in that you have betrayed the cause of the people, the claims of suffering humanity. It was not without reason that our friend, Domela Nieuwenhuis, cried out when speaking of you: "Socialism is in danger!" It is for this that you have deserved the praise of an enlightened bourgeoisie.

To speak honestly, a Radical bourgeoisie could not only adopt such a profession of faith of Socialist pretensions with its system of wage qualification, but even observe that the claims of the Social Democratic party, formulated by its chief and founder, Liebknecht, are pretty moderate. In his article, "The Program of Socialism in Germany" ("The Program of German Socialism," Forum Library, New York, April, 1895, p. 28), Liebknecht puts this question, "What do we ask for?" Then he declares, "Absolute liberty of the press, absolute liberty of religion, universal suffrage for all representative bodies and public offices in the State and in the Commune; national education, all schools open to all, the same opportunities of learning and education for all, abolition of standing armies and creation of national militia, so that every citizen is a soldier and every soldier a citizen; an international court of arbitration between

different States, equal rights for men and women, measures for the protection of the working classes (limitation of hours of work, sanitary regulations, etc.)." That there should be no doubt, Liebknecht adds: "They are reforms already accomplished or being realized in advanced countries, and they are in full agreement with Democracy." With Democracy, yes; but not with Socialism. And then, Democrac and Liberals of *advanced countries* have already realized, or are disposed to realize immediately, Federalism, the referendum, direct legislation, communal autonomy—institutions disowned and fought by Social Democrats. We already know that Marx and Engels, with Maltman Barry (the agent of English Conservatives), excluded Federalists from the International, that Liebknecht declared himself in 1872 (when he was still a revolutionary, which he is no longer today), adversary of any federalist republic; that English Social Democrats—happily their number is insignificant, and, save Hyndman, they are all mediocrities—have combated the referendum and voted for the Conservatives at the last election, against the Gladstonian ministry, which at least had introduced an eight hours' day in all government factories and establishments, had obtained communal autonomy, and was struggling for home rule and for the abolition of the House of Lords.

Even in France, where the commune tradition is so strong, Social Democrats, without suspecting that they are playing the reactionary game of Hegel's school, avoid using the words Federalism, Federation. They do not dare to preach the organization of the "arm of labor, especially for agriculture." Neither do they dare, in spite of their dearest aspirations, abolish local federations; but they avoid the word detested by Hegel, Bismarck, Engels, Liebknecht and others, and call their federations "agglomerations." These *scientists* of "scientific" Socialism ignore that the geological term "agglomeration" signifies accumulation, a heap of divers minerals, and that men and solidary societies unite, make covenants, ally, federate, but do not agglomerate. In speaking of their parliamentary group, the can say that this group and its doctrines form a strange agglomeration of reactionary ideas, that allows Mc'erand to declare himself in favor of the sacred right of private property; Guesde, for German Collectivism, which we have just analyzed; G. Deville, against revolution; and that all of them together constitute an archaic agglomeration, equally fit for a mineralogical museum and for a parliament of Panamists.

Struggling for Participatory Democracy in Unions, as an alternative to Representative Democracy, is like trying to give up fast food.

Fast foods have a deceptive short-term appeal...

...but a damaging long term effect.

It's hard to give them up because we're so used to them. They seem to be such a natural and entrenched part of the world around us. The pressures to keep on consuming them are great.

AND HERE IS TODAY'S ACCEPTED WISDOM... ALL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE A.L.P. AS THE POLITICAL WING OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, BLAH BLAH BLAH...
NEWS

But in the end only a few people benefit from selling us fast food...

...and we all know that, sooner or later, if we don't give them up for something healthier fast foods are going to do us in.

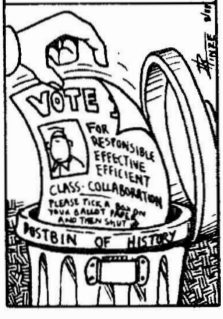
Going 'cold turkey' can be hard.

It's probably best to ease into the alternatives. Build up some familiarity with the elements of a healthier menu.

HOW ABOUT A SHOP COMMITTEE TO BRING THE RANK-AND-FILE OF OUR DIFFERENT UNIONS TOGETHER ON THE SHOP FLOOR...
AND HOW BOUT HAVING A MECHANISM WHEREBY WE CAN GIVE DELEGATES THE BOOT IF THEY DON'T DO AS WE SAY...
AND WHY NOT RESTRICT THE LENGTH OF TIME YOU CAN BE A DELEGATE FOR...
TEA-ROOM

This will all take a bit of work cos the new ingredients are often hard to come by...

But eventually you'll never want to turn back!


VOTE
FOR RESPONSIBLE EFFECTIVE EFFICIENT CLASS-COLLABORATION
PLEASE TICK A BOX FOR YOUR BALLOT PAPER AND THEN SHUT UP
POSTBIN OF HISTORY